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882 broken by bursts of frenzied activity. This is utilised by the adults both to enculturate them and bend them to their will in "training" and "service", and to use the boundless physical energy of adolescents for considerable chores of physical labor.

The adolescents do not resent this most of the time, for they accept it as flattery and acknowledgement of their growing strength; enjoy the increased attention given them in the family as full-fledged, if subordinate members; appreciate the higher status that comes with advancing age, symbolized by the obedience they themselves can command at this stage from their younger siblings who follow them like retainers follow a feudal lord.

A. The Male Adolescent: Service and Young-Warrior.

882 561 The terms of address at this stage symbolize his position exactly, and are far more significant than in reference. Terms of address used in everyday life are: "ashkär" (lit. servant), to call a young man to duties ranging from running errands to doing most of the plowing. First used as flattery for boys of about 14, it becomes exactly descriptive and in everyday use as he matures to full stature power. When this happens, at about age 18, he may be flatteringly addressed as "gobäz", signifying "handsome young warrior". (footnote 79).

883 Duties at this stage, under supervision of the father or other male kinsman, include responsible and hard work in agriculture,

[[71]] Footnote 79: "gobäz" in Amharic has similar connotation to "bahurim" in Hebrew: the identification of the concept of young man with young warrior (Isaiah 31:8, Jeremiah 18:21, Amos 4:10). This is pointed out by Ullendorffe: The Obelisk of Matara, p. 31.

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883 pasturing, housebuilding, packing and unpacking of mules on trips to the market and caravans. Able-bodied and semi-skilled, he is at the beck and call of any male kinsman, whenever the call "antä gobäz" (thou, warrior) resounds.

882 But he is still considered "half-baked", not fully skilled, strong but not wise, capable of carrying out orders but not of giving them because impatient and unable to foresee all consequences. The proverbs say:

[539] "The heart of the gobäz is in his chest" (meaning he is brave but does not reflect, in his head, the consequences of his deeds).

"A village full of young men
in one year it will become a desert".

"A young chief;
fog in (the month of) Hedar; (harvest month in dry season) (both) ruin the country".

[583] In return for his services, the young man hopes that his father will be generous in allocating a large and fertile plot of land to him upon marriage; also many cows, so he can ask an equal number from the bride's family.

883 In these services, particularly in transportation of goods and in housebuilding, he may be working in a team with other young men, his former playmates. But hazing is rare at this stage and considered childish, as is unrestrained shouting and pushing, especially within sight and hearing of full adults.

882 Sexual activities after puberty are much more secretive than
831 before, go on at night rather than in daytime, and are discussed only in whispers. Puberty is called" akalä mätän därrässä (lit. he

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882 has arrived at the age of making full use of the sexual organ), an
831 expression not considered polite. So is the term "gorämsa", (lit. neighbor) when used to refer to a young buck at the peak age for continuous sex desire, for it signifies the male sexual organ next to its female "mate".

883 [561] At the end of adolescence, the honorific address is "kobälä" (powerful warrior), in some regions. In the old feudal tradition, this was the age when the young man could be called to war, at about 18 to 20 and beyond, for as long as he retained his physical strength as well as skill of hand and eye. Even today, at church festivals, the "gobäz" - "kobälo" category of men perform the "hotu" and "fukkara" jump-dance and military boast, shouting "Addis Ababa" to signify loyalty, and "yebalahal jebo" ("The hyena will swallow him", i.e. any enemy), (or "wardaw abebo" crow's beak) symbolizing
883 526 their readiness to defend the sacred "tabot" of the church. On the "Ṭemqät" festival, the young "gobäz" assemble in teams of individuals on the public plain and the church parades stop to watch their game of "guks" (or gugs), a kind of tournament fought on horseback with blunt, wooden, straight lances. They race at each other at full speed, throwing the spearlike missiles at each other at close range, and ducking at the last moment. Sometimes rhinoceros shields were used for protection, but it is considered more clever to duck. Occasionally serious wounds result, and an overeager young warrior having repeatedly caused them is prevented from taking part in the future (losing his license for recklessness, so to speak).

Usually each participant has singled out a personal opponent. They are conscious that not only the eyes of the elders, priests and feudal lords are on them, but also those of the girls who follow

883 526 the turn of their fortunes with excited comments whispered in their own groups. They know that the game will be discussed in individual terms until late into that night, for this is the month of intensive flirting and marriage.

At Christmas, the hockey-like game called "gänna" is played, where the team is emphasized over the individual, unlike "guks". In fact, Christmas derives its popular name, "Gänna", from the game, rather than the proper "Ledät" (lit. "birthday" of Jesus). The "fukkara" beasting, accompanied by chant and little jig-dance while holding a spear or rifle horizontally over the shoulders, is a major kin event, performed by respected and fully-grown "gobäz" at weddings and other formal family events, to recount the past heroic deeds of members of the extended family.

All these roles played by the male adolescent as he approaches and reaches young manhood complete his individual socialization, and reward him with the full attention and acknowledgement given him by his society.

B. The Adolescent Female: Informal Courtship in the Annual Cycle.

882 From puberty until she has settled as a housewife and mother, the female adolescent is addressed as "gonjo" (lit. beautiful), a flattering and honorific address used in everyday language, much as "gobaz" for young men. This address designates her new status, the attention given by all to her blossoming out, her increased status in the family as a young person, and her duties of responsibility rather than mere menial routine labor of the younger "leja-gärad". If the latter term is still used, it is often in opprobium, or in reference if she is not present.

883 The random play activity of younger girls gives play to more structured activities. Girls still work and play in groups but seek to meet groups of young men somewhat older than themselves. Flirting becomes patterned and self-conscious, and behavior in the presence of elders more subdued. Aggressive playfulness, disregarded often before puberty, is severely criticised henceforth.

883 584 Saturday afternoons are preferred times for the gathering of "qonje" girls, for they then go greater distances into the bush to fetch firewood for Sunday. Usually the girls, age 13 to 16, sing loudly so as to attract the group of young men, age 15 to 20, who thereupon follow them at a certain distance. From time to time, the girls, leading the boys on, stop, and dance around like playful little girls, alternately holding each other by the hand, or spinning like a top. This is a signal to the boys to approach, as if by accident, and couples begin to break off from the group to go for a "shershsher", a promenade, while still gathering deadwood. Since the boys are from nearby hamlets, the youngsters and their parents know each other.

584 796 In the annual cycle of events, three occasions are utilized as landmarks of opportunity in serious flirting, informal courtship, leading to the rapidly ensuing first marriage of the adolescent girl.

The first occurs on "Mikael", St. Michael's day, on the 12th day of the month of Hedar, which is celebrated as a kind of Thanksgiving day, for it falls just after the major harvest is completed, in late November. For all ages it is a day of picnics, out in the open, under a bright sunny sky in the first part of the dry season, before the green grass is entirely scorched yellow. Togas have been

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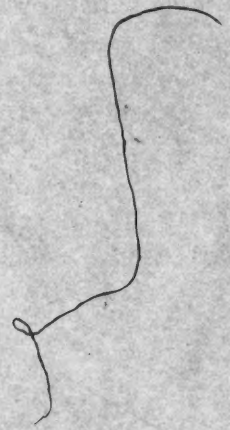
[For information on Amhara adolescents, see category 116, pp. 96-147 and 295, especially pp. 96-101, 106, and 109-147.]



11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

565 554 The local nobility, on the other hand, were eminences whose lives and reputations were bound to a more circumscribed locale. While the non-royal nobility, or *makuánnent* in the stricter sense, performed as high dignitaries at the imperial court and governors of large provinces, the local nobility were district chiefs and judges, or even simply wealthy landowners, who enjoyed considerable deference. Though they might not be known outside of their home regions, these men were, for the mass of the population, the lords of existence. *Ka-Gondar negus / yägar ämbärä*, "the petty district chief [is obeyed] more than the Gondar king"[19] expresses folk wisdom on the subject. The Amharic terms which designate this class of men are *bälabbät* and *shum*, terms we shall want to consider more closely below.

565 184 Despite these distinctions among members of the upper stratum of Abyssinian society, with respect to their general orientation and style of life they differed only in degree. They created and shared what might be called a "gentry subculture," even though it was not so differentiated from the general culture as was the case in Europe and China. In the present context, it will be meaningful to treat them as a single status group.

565 184 86 [576] Special manners and skills were self-consciously taught to children of the *makuánnent*, most of which remain part of the gentry subculture today. An etiquette of instinctual inhibition is taught. Some attention is given, for example, to toilet training, which is spontaneous among peasant children. Spitting in public is proscribed. Physical aggression is discouraged in favor of the more subtle forms of satire and patient manipulation of others. A quiet, reserved manner of speaking is stressed, in contrast with the less inhibited and cruder self-expression of the peasantry. Dignity of comportment is expected at all times; a noble should not, for example, express great enthusiasm or surprise over anything. Sobriety is inculcated as a virtue; alcohol is *la-çhawä lij* [293] *mädasetchä / la-bälagē mäzabäbatchä* ("for the nobleman's son a stimulant, for the commoner an intoxicant"). In short, the gentry subculture stresses the general ideal of bringing a child up to be conspicuously genteel, or *çhawä*.

565 184 868 [871] [534] [883] Sons of the nobility have traditionally followed a privileged curriculum.[20] They were given lessons in horseback riding and weaponry at an early age. They were also taught how to swim, an uncommon skill among the Abyssinians. Reading would often be taught, for which schooling a man of the church might be brought in as a tutor, or the boy might be sent for a while to a monastery. He might also learn how to play the *baganä*, the ten-stringed lyre used to accompany certain forms of religious and plaintive secular songs. Instead of spending his teen-age years at the plow, which was regarded as beneath his dignity, the noble boy would follow his father to court and observe the ways of litigation and the manner of passing judgments; or he might be sent as a page to the court of the king or some great lord.